

The Working Class And The Employing Class Have Nothing In Common.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

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LOGGER SPEAKS TO THE LOGGERS

By Wm. McKENZIE.

I would like to ask this question: "Are the loggers of Puget Sound worthy of the name of men or are they not?" The employers and owners of the logging camps look upon the logger no more than they would a dumb brute. In many cases even they do not think as much of the average logger as they do of their driving horse or of their automobile.

The reason for this I say is, that the conditions in many of the camps which they own are not as good in many cases as are the stables where they keep their horses or automobiles. You loggers of Puget Sound know that the majority of the bunk houses on Puget Sound country are not fit for any man that has a spark of manhood left in him to sleep in; and yet you will go to these places and not make one word of protest to your employer about these conditions.

I think we can safely say that on the average there are about twenty-five men to the bunkhouse and these twenty-five men are ordered out to work when the whistle blows. At 1 o'clock they are ordered out to work again to stay until 6 in the evening. Rain or shine we are forced to go out to work. Now where do these twenty-five men dry their clothing? There is no dry house and only one little stove in the center of the bunkhouse for the entire twenty-five men. What is the result? The men have to go to bed in their wet clothing, get up in the morning and put the clothes on almost as wet as they took them off, and the chances are that the employer comes around and asks you "how things are going," and you reply, "Oh, all right." At the same time you know that they are not all right and what is more, that they are all wrong. Still there is not one of you that has the manhood left to say one word about these conditions.

Now take it on the other hand, when the boss logger goes into the stable, he does not ask how things are going. He sees his horse all dripping wet and his automobile all covered with mud. What does he do? He fires the man who is taking care of the stable immediately and has an extra blanket put over his horse. Does he get an extra blanket for you when you come into the bunkhouse all wet and covered with mud? Does he? No, you bet he doesn't, and what is further, he tells you if you don't like it you can roll up and get out. Then you will have the pleasure of once more going to town and visiting some employment shark, to whom you'll pay a dollar or two, for information to secure some other job on which, the chances are, the conditions are as bad as the camp which you just left.

As for the grub, you all know that in the majority of the camps it is not fit for human beings to eat and is one of the chief reasons why you quit so many jobs. As a rule one of the first questions you ask a logger friend of your acquaintance who has worked in some other camp as to how the "chuck" was and two-thirds of the answers that you receive are that it was on the "bum," and "that is the reason why I bunched the job."

We all know of these things, but we do not seem to know how to get the better chuck and better sleeping quarters, shorter hours, etc. Quitting jobs will never secure for us these conditions, nor will individual kicks. All the boss does when you become dissatisfied with your job is to send you down to the employment shark's office, with whom the chances are, he is connected with telephone, and have him send you another man. It is time that all loggers were beginning to realize what are the reasons for these conditions and ways and means to remedy them. Some of us have already come to the conclusion that the only way that we can hope to better these conditions is to organize. For this reason we have formed loggers' locals. Several of these are already in existence along the Coast, at Seattle, Portland and Vancouver. Preparations are being made to form locals at several other points. To do this it will take the cooperation of all the men employed in the logging camps.

The loggers in Montana were able through organization to cut the hours of labor to nine per day. Why can't we loggers on Puget Sound do the same? The Western Federation of Miners, through organization, have been able to gain an eight-hour day and a minimum scale of \$2 per day. Can't we do the same? Are we not as intelligent as the miner or the logger in Montana? The loggers' locals of Seattle, Portland and Vancouver have laid the foundation on which should be built an organization encompassing all the loggers on Puget Sound. The rough work is done; the rest remains to be done for these conditions and ways and means. Do you wish yourselves classed as non-union men? Will you wait until the rest of the loggers are organized to the extent that you will be forced into the organization? Or will you get in and do your part to building up a strong working class organization in the logging industry?

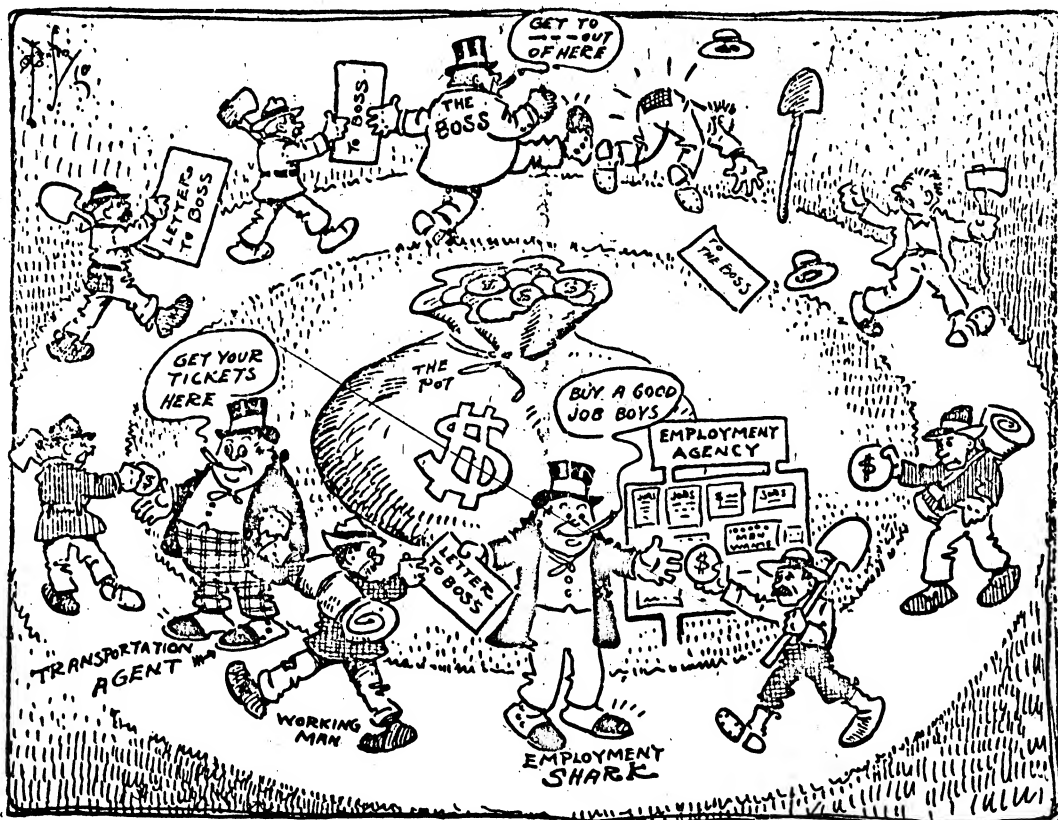
The laundry girls in Goldfield, Nevada, who were organized into the Industrial Workers of the World, were able to get \$1.00 per day for eight hours work, and would still have the wages had not the unorganized workmen flooded in from surrounding places when they heard about the high wages there and scabbed the I. W. W. out of existence. The section men in the same district received \$4.50 for eight hours work and would still be getting it if it had not been for the unorganized.

Now the loggers are organizing into the I. W. W. to do the same thing and it is up to you loggers, who are not as yet members, to get in and do your part.

The lumber industry is the principal industry of the Northwest, and in no industry are there so few organized workmen. It is for this reason that the conditions are as bad as they are.

Do you think you would have to go to some employment shark if you were organized? Do you not think that by organization that you could force the bosses to grant you more wages, shorter hours of employment, better sleeping accommodations, better food and more of a variety?

If you do not, you certainly have not got as much sense as the laundry girls of Gold-



The Endless Chain—Employment Shark, the Transportation Agent, and the Boss—Fleece the Workers.

GRAND JURY LOOKS INTO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Labor Commissioner Maupin Calls Attention to Swindles Practiced in Omaha.

Omaha, Neb., Feb. 23.—"Omaha is rotten with fake employment offices," says State Labor Commissioner Maupin.

Complaint has been made to him by Colorado authorities that scores of Italian laborers are being unloaded there by an Omaha agent, who obtains a \$2.00 fee for sending them to work, which does not exist and landing them there without resources.

A letter received by him from the Colorado Labor Commissioner gives the name and address of this agent and makes explicit complaint against him. Commissioner Maupin, before the Grand Jury Friday afternoon, and there is reason to believe that he handed the communication to them as a basis for an indictment.

Commissioner Maupin says that the fake employment agencies have been practically put out of business in Lincoln and the labor department will now center its attack on those in Omaha where conditions are particularly aggravated.—World-Herald.

gilt had and as much as the section men of the same place had, as the miners have, or any class of workers that are organized.

The number of men that are at present organized into the various loggers' locals cannot force the bosses to grant us the concessions wanted. It will take the united strength of the men employed in the lumber woods to secure these improved conditions. And it is up to you to get into this organization and help build up the strength of the workers at once.

When you meet a delegate join the union, and don't tell him it is the "only thing," that will never do us any good, but "I will join if all the others will join." Do not delay, but act at once.

If you wish to better your condition and make the bosses come through take out a card in the union and then help to get all the rest of the men employed in the woods to join.

When we do this we will put the employment sharks, who have waxed fat on the dollars which they have fleeced the workers of, out of business.

We will be able to shorten the hours of labor, and get better conditions of employment. We will never be able to achieve anything as long as we remain unorganized. So get into line and help build up the union of your class.

SKIDROAD NOTES.
I pay for a job because you do. Let's quit.

Do you belong to the Loggers' Union? If not, why not? Come on, pinch yourself, wake up and take out a card.

Mr. Logger, join the union of your industry and stand shoulder to shoulder with the men with whom you work. Don't be a backslider. Don't say that you will join the union if the other fellow does, but get in and then seek to induce the other fellow to join your union.

Does eight hours a day look good to you? The men who work in the mines only work eight hours per day. They accomplished this by organization. You can do the same. Get into line.

Did you ever stop to think, Mr. Logger, that it costs you more every year for jobs than it would cost you to keep in good standing with your local union, besides not receiving any of the benefits which the latter affords you? By organization you can compel the boss to send to your union hall for men. Get wise and organize.

If you are interested in Industrial Unionism subscribe to the Industrial Worker. If you are already a subscriber help to spread the principles of the organization among your Fellow Workers by getting them to subscribe.

ANOTHER CASE AGAINST EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Shark Hires Twenty-three Men to Go to Job Where Only Four Are Wanted.

Seattle, Wash., March 4.—Another case of employment shark methods came to light when the steamer T. W. Lake (known to those who have worked on this boat as the T. W. Workhouse), pulled into port and placed an order with Crane's Employment Agency for four deckhands.

The sharks, as is their usual method, placed the sign asking for four deck hands out on the job board, but instead of taking it down when the requisite number of men advertised for had bought jobs, the sign was kept up until a crew of men numbering 23 had been hired. These men were all charged a dollar apiece for the information.

Having been told where to report to work, the men were at hand at the stated time with their blankets and effects. The mate, after picking out four of what he thought would make the most willing workers, told the others that he had all the men he could use. Thus the disappointed job seekers were compelled to return and once more search the job sign for a desirable job. Workers get wise. Don't buy jobs.

RESOLUTION.
At Regular Business Meeting of Local 419 Redlands, California, the Following Resolutions Were Drawn Up.

Whereas, The capitalist class all over the world are continually solidifying and strengthening their forces in order to more certainly defeat the attempts of industrially organized workers to overthrow their rule, as evidenced by the formation of the International Oil, Steel and Transportation Trusts, etc., and

Whereas, We, of the Industrial Workers of the World, cannot fail to be aware of the significance of these moves and to see that the future success of our own movement depends on our ability to checkmate and defeat such moves, and

Whereas, Effectual cooperation on an international scale among the industrially organized wage workers of the world has, hitherto, been rendered difficult, if not impossible, by their various national affiliations with political reform movements, and their international affiliation with the International Socialist Bureau and Congress, and

Whereas, The said International Socialist Bureau and Congress, together with most of its constituent bodies, is composed of and dominated by a collection of long-haired capitalist "professors," middle-class exploiters of labor, and slick political grafters of the "friend of labor" type, thereby assisting Capitalism and incidentally making for themselves an easy and "distinguished" existence by keeping the Workers' attention engaged on a continuous political sham-battle, meanwhile the Capitalist masters are pressing their wage-slaves lower on the industrial field, and the Workers are becoming ever more befuddled, disgusted, distrustful and despairing, therefore be it

Resolved, In order to remedy these evils, and lay the foundation for international UNITY and SOLIDARITY among the industrially organized wage-workers of the world, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World be, and hereby is, directed to take immediate steps to sever our connection with the International Bureau and Congress and be it further

Resolved, That the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. be, and hereby is, directed to issue a call to all unions of industrially organized Workers throughout the world who are revolutionary in aim and direct actionists in tactics and who have no affiliation with any political party, to assemble in conference at earliest convenient date at suitable place in order to form an International Industrial Union of all such workers on the basis of equal representation and equal universal membership cards, transfers and emblems, regardless of race, color, nationality, creed or occupation, and be it further

Resolved, That we, members of Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, No. 419, I. W. W. of Redlands, Cal., hereby call upon all locals and members of the I. W. W. to whom the necessity of action is apparent, to second our efforts to get these resolutions discussed at

COMPLAINT IS FILED AGAINST EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Deputy Labor Commissioner Wagner Will Make Investigation Against Employment Agency.

Austin, Texas, Feb. 22.—Complaint has been made to Labor Commissioner Myers to the effect that a certain employment agency at Fort Worth has been sending men to work on the construction of the Bartlett-Florence railroad, which is now being built between Bartlett and Florence, promising these men that they would be paid \$3.00 to \$5.00 per day, and after the men have worked a week, they are paid only \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day. Labor Commissioner Myers, at once detailed Deputy Labor Commissioner Wagner to make an investigation of the complaints. Deputy Wagner left yesterday for Bartlett to make the investigation. When questioned as to what could be done in the premises, in the event the complaints are established, Mr. Wagner said he could not tell at present, but asserted that this would be left to a recommendation being made to the next legislature to regulate employment agencies in Texas.—Statesman.

their regular business meeting and to instruct their delegates to the next convention and bring this matter forward at the convention; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to every I. W. W. Local and to all I. W. W. papers for publication.
By Order of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 419, Redlands, California.
(Sent. Local No. 419.)

ENTIRE OFFICE FORCE OF SOLIDARITY ARRESTED.

Just as we are writing the editor is arrested. Full particulars later.

The editor wrote the above just before being arrested. Since his arrest, every member of the press committee has been arrested. The reason for their arrest I do not know. We will do our best, however, to give this the utmost publicity.

With one or two exceptions every worker that has been active in pushing Solidarity in this vicinity has been arrested.

It looks like an attempt on the part of the police to adopt Spokane tactics. Now it is up to every one who reads this to get busy and do their part. We will depend on you. Action is the thing that is now needed.

G. H. PERRY.

WE'RE JAILED!

They grabbed us last night, March 1st, the day when the fight opened out again in Spokane, the whole press committee of Solidarity and the Free Press, a local Socialist party paper that does not press work, were arrested and thrown in jail on a trumped-up charge by agents of the steel trust. Probably they have an understanding with the Spokane officials. This is written in jail. Solidarity nearly all set up when we were arrested and no space for particulars this week. Particulars next week. Editor was at work on the "For the Ten Thousand" column when pinched. Boys, go after the ten thousand. Send in the subs and bundle orders.

Solidarity is here to stay.

Hoory! Hall on!

ACTIVE AT SAN DIEGO.

Industrial Worker:

Enclosed find money order for the amount of \$1.25 in payment of our regular bundle order of 50 copies.

Will say that we have opened up a free reading room at the Commercial Hotel, corner Seventh and I streets. All Fellow Workers arriving in the city will find us at this location. With the aid we received from G. S. Young who gave us a receipt for the amount of \$20.00 on the old S. P. We were enabled to purchase 75 chairs and some four or five benches for the reading room.

From now on San Diego will carry on an active campaign of agitation and organization among the workers.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
BENSON JAYNES.

SPOKANE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH SETAILED

Spokane, Wash., March 6, 1910.—At last the great Spokane battle has been brought to a close. This was effected through the instrumentality of a series of conferences between the city and county officials and an I. W. W. committee. The following is an account of the various conferences and the conclusions arrived at by the contestants in this long battle.

On February 28th "the executive or fighting committee" of the I. W. W. elected a committee of three—Fellow Workers Gillespie, McKelvey and Foster—and commisioned them to call on the authorities and discuss the situation before opening hostilities on the morrow. This interview terminated in practically a declaration of war on both sides, as the mayor seemed to think the only possible solution of the difficulty was to test the ordinance in the court. He frankly stated that he did not indorse a prohibitive or discriminative ordinance, but said he had no other choice than to enforce the laws already on the books. He professed willingness to treat on the matter, but claimed lack of jurisdiction. This was considered unfavorable by the committee, and the mayor was told that the fight must continue until the I. W. W. was crushed or free speech assured. Next day the committee, enlarged by the addition of Fellow Worker Stark, called on the police department, where a general conference was held. The authorities showed a willingness to reasonably consider the situation and asked for specific credentials from the committee, which would show their authority to talk business. These credentials were secured, and on March 3d the general conference met. The city and county were represented by Mayor Pratt, Prosecuting Attorney Pugh, Corporation Counsel Blair, Chief of Police Sullivan and Captain Detective Burns. The I. W. W. was represented by Fellow Workers Stark, McKelvey, Gillespie and Foster. The conference took on the nature of demands by the I. W. W. These were four in number: First, the promise that landlords would not be intimidated into refusing the rent of halls to the I. W. W. as has been done during the last few months of the fight, and that I. W. W. meetings be absolutely free from police interference, provided, of course, that we kept within the common rules; in short, hall conditions were to be the same as those prior to November 2. Second, freedom of the press and the right to sell the Industrial Worker on the street; as other newspapers are. Third, the release of I. W. W. prisoners in the city and county jails. Fourth, the use of the streets for public speaking.

The first two propositions were granted after but slight discussion. The third proposition was very closely related to the fourth, and after a very unsatisfactory discussion of it the committee turned to the fourth so as to find out how they stood on that. The mayor, corporation counsel, etc., assured the I. W. W. committee that free speech is to be allowed in Spokane in the near future, and though no date was or could be set for this new assurance to take effect, they were positively assured that it will be in a short while. And meanwhile the regular religious organizations will not be discriminated in favor of, but must await their time when the streets are open to all. With this proposition established as a working basis, the conference again took up the matter of the release of prisoners, which was a delicate one to handle. Prosecutor Pugh professed to have no animosity against any of the prisoners, but stated that it is impossible to release them all at once. It was agreed that the city prisoners (some fifteen in number) should be immediately released, and the county prisoners (fourteen in number) released on a sliding scale, to begin immediately, without discrimination. In return for these concessions he demanded a postage in the shape of National Organizer F. W. Heslewood, who was then vigorously fighting extradition proceedings at Coeur d'Alene City, Ida. The conference came to a stumbling block here, as the I. W. W. committee had no jurisdiction over Heslewood, who is employed at Coeur d'Alene by the national headquarters. To obviate this difficulty it was necessary to put the proposition before Heslewood, so the conference adjourned, to meet again in Coeur d'Alene three hours later.

Owing to poor connections Heslewood could not be reached before 7:15 p. m., and the final extradition proceedings, scheduled to start at 7:30 p. m., were postponed while the conference met in Judge Dunn's private chambers. Meanwhile the committee had been increased by E. Gurley Flynn, Heslewood and Attorney Moore. The situation was outlined to them and the further proposition made to Heslewood that if he surrendered himself he would be released on \$2,000 bond and his case continued from time to time, for 30 days, when it would be dropped. Flynn's case is to be allowed to vegetate also, and it too will be dismissed at the end of 30 days. Meanwhile the appeal will pend and he will await his release on bonds.

The Burns case and damage suits against the city are to be dropped. This decision, as far as Heslewood was concerned, could not be postponed, as the court was waiting while the committees conferred, and upon the strongest recommendations of the I. W. W. committee Heslewood accepted the terms in so far as he was concerned. The caveat of this was not to bind the organization in any way. Heslewood simply placed his head in the lion's mouth at the instigation of the committee and his own belief that the rank and file, on referendum, would accept the conditions jointly agreed upon. The next day he surrendered himself to Spokane county and is now out on bonds. The following evening at a mass meeting in Hilliard, composed of all the I. W. W. members in town, regardless of where they hail from, the action of the committee was indorsed and the street fight was officially declared off, pending the good faith of the authorities. The conference committee has visited tea boys in the county jail and explained the situation. They also have indorsed the action taken. The city prisoners were released by Chief Sullivan according to the agreement. The charters seized by the police in the raid on the hall have been returned.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Spokane Locals I. W. W.

Our Fellow Workers, Preston and Smith, Are Still In Jail

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THE MASTERS TREMBLE.

By LOUIS DUCHEZ.

The capitalist class of America have never been so fearful of a proletarian uprising as they are at the present time. The following news story by the Publishers Press, taken from a capitalist paper, speaks for itself:

"Labor's horizon grows blacker; strikes raging. Whole nation in general, and Pennsylvania in particular, on brink of industrial revolution. The possibilities prove appalling. Fear radical workmen may start reign of terror. Nation's tollers may lay down tools. The alarm sounded."

With the above headlines the following comes from New York, which doubtless emanates from Wall Street eavesdroppers: "Labor troubles in the East and West, two violent strikes raging in Pennsylvania, and threats of dire consequences if police and troops are allowed to continue shooting down workmen in defense of corporation property, all indicate that the United States stands upon the brink of an industrial revolution, the possibilities of which are appalling to contemplate."

"Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and other conservative leaders among the unionized workmen, today sounded a note of alarm. It is evident from the tenor of their statements that they fear they should have little control if the radical element should assert a dominance."

"With Philadelphia stagnated by the street railway strike, the situation there grows more alarming every hour. Open threats have been made to wipe out the state constabulary. The strikers are growing bolder."

"The Bethlehem steel works is tied up by a strike and a general strike is threatened. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the selfsame spirit of impending trouble is in the air."

"The high cost of living, and the exposures of trust methods, which have apparently helped to cause those high prices, have stung the working classes into a state bordering on frenzy."

"It is likely that federal intervention may be necessary to restore the calm which formerly existed. At least the government will move slowly in whatever it undertakes, for a false move now may precipitate a reign of affairs, which would cause the Paris Commune to pale into insignificance."

"Seething unrest among railroad employees has been growing to such an alarming extent that it is feared if the Baltimore and Ohio employees strike, it may result in strikes upon two-score of other roads throughout the country, where wage demands have been made. The railroad outlook is made worse by the announcement today of the railroad managers that they cannot grant the men their demands."

"Even the great United States Steel Corporation, the biggest industrial corporation in the world, stands upon the threshold of stagnation. Rumbling notes of discontent have marred the progress of the steel trust ever since its formation, but the labor horizon is darker now than ever before."

"Trouble which threatens to tie up the coal industry of the United States is in the air."

"The conservatives, alarmed by adverse court decisions, the attitude of industrial capitalists, and the inability to get higher pay, fear that the radicals will organize their own fighting force to combat troops and gun-fighting police. Even now this organization may be under way, for the secret convulsions of the tollers are evident. Their plans are carefully guarded."

"There has been a sullen feeling of antagonism by street railway employees throughout Pennsylvania ever since the Chester strike two years ago."

"The possibility of a general reign of terror with violence and industrial stagnation hovers nearer now than ever before, because the movement is concerted."

"In the Northwest the switchmen are still grumbling over their inability to force their demands upon a half dozen railroads. In New England the textile workers are voting on a general strike, and from all over the country the same spirit of impending trouble is heard."

"Who will say that the master class don't recognize the stuff that makes for revolution when they see it?"

The above intimations that Gompers and his traitorous elite have been in close communication with the big guns of industry and that they have feared that the rank and file of the workers are tired of their sly tactics, and that the "radical element" may "assert a dominance."

The industrial unionist may look upon all this with much hope. Where there is conflict as there is now through the country the proletarian movement is safe.

Those workers who adopt our tactics are on their way to us, and that rapidly. Mass movements have a revolutionary spirit prevail has a remarkable way of shelling off reactionary leaders and "showing them up." Silly labor fakirs are out of place in a revolutionary conflict.

On with the revolution. The future is ours. The very eye of the social revolution is nearing. Wall Street feels it. The I. W. W. is "well born." Get busy!

Do not be afraid to line up with the rest of your fellow workers and demand that which is your heritage.

The revolutionary union movement in the Latin countries has done, during the last year, more towards preparing the advent of socialism than the legislative activity of the different socialist parties within the last thirty years—Odon Dor, in the International Socialist Review.

HAIL THE DAY OF FREEDOM.

Those who have thought and worked, those who are able to see what is coming by the light of past experiences, are seldom listened to, or if they get a hearing, they are not seldom ridiculed and hissed down. Till a strong man or woman speaks we must all remain speechless. There is no real government in America today, just as there is no real church. The government is made up of directly self-interested gamblers and grafters rather than diplomats and statesmen; the church (so-called) is gradually but surely yielding to the bribery of the old Harlot—Rome. It is a time of sham politics and sham religion! We have fallen upon evil days—and unless the people awake from their sleep and arouse themselves from their indifference, and rise, as I hope they will, serious danger threatens the glory and honor of this great American nation. "Would you desire an armed revolution and bloodshed, then?" you ask!

I would have revolution, redder, but not bloodshed. I think the people of this country in the twentieth century are too well grounded in common sense to care for a movement which could bring about internal dissension or riot, but at the same time I firmly believe their in-born sense of justice is great enough to resist tyranny and wrong and falsehood, even to death. I would have a revolution—yes—but a peaceable and bloodless one.

"And how would you begin?" you ask.
I answer: The people must begin, reader. All changes must begin and end with the people only! For example, if the people would refuse to attend any church where the incumbent is known to encourage practices which are treasonable to the lands great existence, such disloyalty and treason would soon cease to exist. If the majority of women would refuse to know or to receive any women of high position who had voluntarily disgraced herself, they would soon put a stop to the gross immoralities of the aristocracy. If our builders, mechanics and artisans would unite and refuse to make rifles, cannon, etc., for our enemies, the government and the capitalist class, we should not run the risk of one day being hoisted by our own petard. In any case, the work of revolution rests with the people, though it is equally true they need teachers to show them how to begin.

Again you ask: "Are these teachers forthcoming?"

I for one think so. Throughout all history, as far back as we can trace it, wherever a serious change has been needed in either society or the government, there has always been found a leader to head the movement. And history repeats itself. And some day in the not far distant future the People of America will awake out of their lethargy and becoming fired with the love for liberty, will arouse to action, to revolt and once and for all overthrow, dismember and totally abolish the tyrannical, oppressive and despotic government of the U. S. A. and emerge into the beautiful sunlight of freedom. All hail the day! All hail the triumphs of a bloodless revolution! All hail to Liberty, Fraternity and Equality!

Fraternally yours,
N. J. B. BAILEY, Ps. D.

THE MILITARY IDEAL.

Young man, the lowest aim you can have in life is to be a "good soldier." The "good" soldier never tried to distinguish right from wrong; he never thinks; he never reasons; he only obeys: if he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation; if he is ordered to fire down a crowded street where the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red, and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, and feels neither remorse or sympathy; if he is told to go as one of a firing squad to execute a hero, a patriot, a philanthropist and benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast. The "good" soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, mindless, murderous machine. He is not a man, he is not even a brute, for brutes only kill for food or in self defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that really constitutes a man, he has sworn away when he took the enlistment oath; his mind, his conscience and his soul are in the keeping of his officer. No man can ever fall lower than a "good" soldier; it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Young man, don't be a soldier; be a man.

W. D. WATTLES.

The Workmen have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. By freedom is meant free buying and selling.—Communist Manifesto.

The workman that really believes that he has interests in common with his employer is to be pitied.

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the every-growing power of the employing class. The trade union fosters a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or a lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

WHAT WOULD MARX SAY?

By JOSEPH S. HUSCAY.

There are many people after hearing Industrial Unionism explained who sadly say: "their heads and say: 'It would be all right, if you did not keep out the brainy men who are essential in directing the movement of the unintelligent mass. Why you would even bar Marx.'" The fact is that the brainy men are not barred if otherwise eligible, but the "brainy" man who is of the capitalist system should not become a member unless his material interest is with the membership, as he would only demoralize the organization.

I have an idea that Marx would endorse the Industrial Union. Even if he did not, that would only prove that a man was not capable of clearly seeing everything because he happened to be great in one line.

If he really wrote: "Workers of the world unite," I think he would still hold the same idea.

Judging from the way some are organized a person would suppose he wrote something like this: "Workers of the world unite with those who have brains and who sympathize, even though they are living by your misery; because through their great sympathy you will be emancipated, as they will kill themselves, just for your sake."

If he wrote the former and meant the latter; then we had better not bother with what he said or wrote—but he wrote and meant the former.

If history is correct, Marx got about \$5.00 a week for writing for Horace Greeley's paper and at times Engels, who was well-to-do, kept him from starving. He was in a position to see things from the down-and-out's point of view.

"But," they will add, "you need the intellectual people to do the propaganda work."

The idea is good, only, it was tried and failed. The people referred to as intellectuals are persons with good clothes and money to spend. So we are judged under this system. The intellectual is generally in the employ of the capitalist, a spy pilot or professor usually. He is substituting his intellect, if he ever had any, before the capitalist. He is not even a man, but a miserable lick-spittle, a dog.

What good are such people, if you wish to call them human, in the labor movement? They know absolutely nothing about the needs of the working class. They are the trained lackeys of the master, deprived of manhood or they are useless to the capitalist. Their very training makes them unfit in the cause of the proletariat.

It was the intellectual who first eulogized the scab and started an agitation to erect monuments to the "hero" who had turned traitor to his class.

Who is it that is really doing the work for the organization of the proletariat regardless of the squalling of the intellectual?

It is the proletariat himself.

Who rides the rods and often goes hungry while agitating?

Who goes on a strike and sticks, win or lose, when the knowledge that his wife and little ones are suffering is fairly bursting his heart?

Who is it that is generally blacklisted all over for agitating for working class solidarity?

Who is it that feels the police club and faces the machine gun because he dares to demand a little chance to live?

Who is it that with a dying breath urges his fellow workers to stick?

Whose widows and orphans are turned into the street to suffer after he has died for the profits of the boss?

Who is it that HAS TO FIGHT whether he wishes it or not?

Is it the brainy intellectual? Not so you can notice it.

This is the proletariat who will upset the present system that gives him but misery, and substitute something far better in its place.

"But the intellectual is full of sympathy," I hear some one say.

Washington sympathized with the soldiers at Valley Forge and prayed over their misery. He was worth close to half a million then and some of that without any sympathy; a curse would have helped far more. Sympathy never costs anything.

Taft sympathized with the working class in the last election. He had more sympathy than Washington as there is more of him; but did that satisfy the pangs of even one shriveled stomach?

This sympathy gag reminds me of some French soldiers who sympathized so much that every time one of them snubbed an enemy he apologized with, "pardonnez moi." No doubt that helped the fellow who was dying about as much as the sympathy of the intellectual.

For ages and ages the working class looked in vain to the massive (?) intellect of the well fed and well groomed sympathetic intellectual, for their rescue. After centuries of failure the workers were forced to organize without the sympathetic phenomenon.

Strange to say they got along much better. The burden of feeding and clothing the world does not rest on the narrow shoulders of the intellectual, who is jumping to please his owner until his "brain" has shifted to the lower end of the spinal column; but upon the massive shoulders of the proletariat who always, Atlas like, carried the world.

The proletariat does everything. He is found in the hole he has dug while extracting a mineral to keep the shivering master warm. He is also on the highest point of the great skyscraper which he is building for the same master to use.

He does everything and gets the least.

It is this despised "prol," when he begins finally to think for himself and organize from the hole in the ground to the top of the skyscraper, before whom the very earth trembles.

He is GOD over all we see, the creator.

He has gotten tired of always giving; he is now preparing to demand what he has created.

He does not aspire to be called "intellectual" as his intellect covers the earth. The whole earth is his college and experience the teacher. The puny globe is his plaything which he is going to take for himself.

And then some infinitesimal creature sucking his blood is going to save this giant because his blood tastes good.

The proletariat is going to save himself. Urged on by necessity and progress he moves onward and upward repeating to himself: "Workers of the world unite."

A light breaks over his countenance and he quickens his pace.

HE sees. At last he understands.

DIRECTORY I. W. W. LOCAL UNIONS

The following is a directory of the Industrial Unions and Branches of Industrial Unions of the United States and Canada. Secretaries of Unions are requested to notify the editor of any changes desired in this list.

The General Officers of the I. W. W. are as follows:

General Secretary—Vincent St. John, 518 Cambridge Building, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

General Organizer—Wm. E. Trautman, 518 Cambridge Building, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

General Executive Board—Joseph J. Ettor, 100 Charters Avenue, McKees Rocks, Pa.; Thomas Whitehead, 1524 Fifth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.; Francis Miller, 12 Rosemont Terrace, Lymanville, R. I.; H. L. Gaines, 4243 Lexington Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.; T. J. Cole, 608 Anne street, Blue Island, Ill.

ARIZONA.

Secretary. Town Address.
272—F. Vialde, Phoenix, 944 E. Van Buren St.
273—W. Welch, Globe, Box 1851.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

44—Alice Harding, Victoria, 1630 Pembroke street.
45—James Sullivan, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W. Cordova Street.
322—W. B. Smith, Vancouver, Room 3, 41 W. Cordova Street.
326—A. E. Grant, Prince Rupert, Box 711.
626—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653.

CALIFORNIA.

1—George Paff, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.
12—Wm. Allen, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.
13—Benson Jaynes, San Diego, 960 India St.
18—W. R. Sauter, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.
63—Wm. Erickson, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.
66—W. F. Little, Fresno, 1114 Federal Ave.
173—J. Lebon, San Francisco, 909 Howard St.
174—G. Mays, Oakland, care Gallardo Hotel.
245—Fred Herrmann, San Pedro, 212 Fourth St.
419—R. Vere, Redlands, Box 357.
437—Branch 4: Wm. Stanley, Imperial, Box 267.
437—Peter LeBlanc, Holtville, Box 42.
437—Branch 2: J. H. Sanderson, Brawley, Box 485.

COLORADO.

26—Harry Weinstein, Denver, 124 14th Ave.

ILLINOIS.

302—Car Builders, Hegewisch.
85—Branch 1: R. Stromberg, Chicago, 110 W. Elm Street.
Branch 2: K. Rathje, Chicago, 935 Wells Street.
Branch 3: E. Janicki, Chicago, 7 Emma St.
167—A. Simpson, Chicago, 1811 Oakdale Avenue.
500—W. D. Borger, Pullman, 20 E. 103rd St.

INDIANA.

200—Henry Hahn, Muncie, 2009 S. Elm St.
301—John Hermann, Hammond, Box 589.
201—W. H. Jarver, Anderson, 2408 Brown St.

IOWA.

139—Ben Limberger, Sioux City, Gen. Deliv.

LOUISIANA.

38—F. Albers, New Orleans, 137 North Scott.

MINNESOTA.

64—C. H. Fisher, Minneapolis, 527 Emerson Avenue North.
137—Peter Johnson, Minneapolis, 516 Fifth St. South.
424—W. Free, Deer River.

MISSOURI.

84—Julius Pollock, St. Louis, 1529 N. 15th St.
188—B. Blumoff, St. Louis, 2007A Biddle St.
Branch 2: I. Goldberg, St. Louis, 2340 1/2 Carr street.
413—W. A. Hoffman, St. Louis, 2634 South 18th Street.

MONTANA.

39—Ralph H. Belcher, Billings.
40—Pete Brown, Missoula, Box 745.
41—J. W. Bailey, Great Falls, 505 Fifth Ave. South.
105—John Byrne, Anaconda, Box 635.
142—J. F. Schroeder, Anaconda, 212 East Com. Avenue.

405—F. C. Meyer, Butte, Box 1133.
421—Joe Duddy, Kallispell, Box 175.

MICHIGAN.

Mrs. Elma Anolien, Negaunee, L. B. 277.

NEBRASKA.

86—F. H. Alexander, Omaha, 627 South 17th Ave.

NEW JERSEY.

24—A. Hagsberg, Harrison, 15 Franklin Ave.
610—H. Hartman, Jersey City, 107 Paterson St.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

If the emancipation of labor will not come through the manipulation of little slips of paper called ballots, neither is it likely to come through the gathering of the working class into old-line craft unions, as the increasing uselessness of the American Federation of Labor exemplifies. A very large part of the working class is shut out from voting at all elections because it is ever on the move in search of that will-o'-the-wisp, the job. At the same time, the membership of the American Federation divided into craft unions, is upholding the system which robs the workers.

Only one form of unionism will insure ultimate success to the workers in the struggle to emancipate themselves from the bonds of wage slavery—the Industrial form under which all organized workers take up the cause of any section of the working class. Under this form of unionism the ultimate goal towards which we are striving is constantly held before the eyes of our members; the overthrow of the unjust capitalist system and the establishment of a workers' republic.

One of the main objects of this form of organization is to bring the workers to a knowledge that they are the producers of all wealth and are robbed of about four-fifths of their product by employers and their parasitic following. They are taught that, to put an end to this exploitation the workers themselves must band together and take over for themselves all the industries and means of wealth production. As manipulation on the part of the ruling class has denied citizenship to the worker by depriving him of the right to vote, the government which now stands for the interests of the employers must be overthrown by revolution. The form of the revolution will take de-

NEW YORK.

15—A. Black, New York, 403 West 127th.
95—W. Northrop, New York, 44 West 96th.
163—W. N. Waggoner, Jersey City, 236 Suydam Avenue.
179—J. A. Boulston, Brooklyn, 128 State Street.
317—J. Fronkowiak, Buffalo, 1159 Broadway.
420—C. G. Fisher, New York, 348 East 152d.

OHIO.

75—G. A. Storck, Lorain, 1860 East 29th.
89—B. Peraky, Cleveland, 2287 Hazen Ave.
694—Evan Enoch, Martins Ferry, 301 Hickey street.
296—Clyde Sweeney, Massillon, 19 Charles St. West.

OREGON.

32—J. Jackson, Portland, 306 First street.
93—Paul Brower, Portland, 306 First St. S.
141—W. T. Neel, Portland, 306 First St. South.

PENNSYLVANIA.

5—L. D'Andrea, Dunmore, 306 Smith street.
143—Michael Rheinhard, Pittsburgh, 5904 Harvard street.
215—Geo. W. Pearce, Mt. Washington, Pittsburgh, -1 Greenbush Street.
291—Tube and Pipe Mill Workers, Soho, Pittsburgh.
292—Car Builders, Woods Run.
293—Th. Bessemle, Allegheny, 826 Green street.
493—Kroatian Branch, Th. Bessemle, Allegheny, 826 Green street.
296—Val. Spunar, McKees Rocks, 100 Charters Ave.
297—H. C. Fletcher, Newcastle, 235 Meyer Ave.
298—Charles McKeever, Newcastle, Box 622.
299—Jerry Kauffold, Lyndora, Nixor Hotel.
393—James Alasia, Box 239, Monongahela City.
392—Paul Bastide, McDonald, Box 224.
511—J. Yanelli, Old Forge, Box 13.
516—Anton Parisee, Parsons, Box 81.
515—G. Grech, West Pittston, 118 Luxerne ave.
524—T. Goetomo, Scranton, 101 Lackawanna Avenue.

RHODE ISLAND.

99—C. A. Ulderico, Woonsocket, 686 Diamond Hill.

VERMONT.

7—F. Rossi, Montpelier, 115 Barre street.
176—N. Imbruglio, Waterbury.
410—L. Marchetto, Barre, 10 Shurtcliffe Place.

WASHINGTON.

131—A. C. Cole, Seattle, 1524 Fifth Avenue.
132—Chas. Brown, Spokane, Box 2129.
178—Aug. Wangeman, Seattle, 1524 Fifth Avenue.
222—W. H. Douglas, Spokane, Box 2129.
316—Al Enstrom, Anacortes, Box 698.
337—Henry Larson, Bellingham, 216 F Street.
354—G. C. Wertenbaker, Aberdeen, Box 779.
382—W. J. Morris, Seattle, 1524 Fifth Avenue.
423—F. W. Schwartz, Spokane, Box 2129.
432—Wm. Liebrecht, Seattle, room 3, 218 Second Avenue South.
434—Hugh A. Hanley, Spokane, Box 2129.

WYOMING.

140—Louis Moreau, Cheyenne, 418 West 17th street.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION TEXTILE WORKERS.

National Secretary—Francis Miller, 12 Rosemont Terrace, Lymanville, R. I.
20—G. O. Smith, Lawrence, Mass., 113 Newberry street.
55—Wm. Swindlehurst, Fall River, Mass., 33 James St.
120—D. Ficari, West Hoboken, N. J., 447 Central Avenue.
157—Wm. Yates, New Bedford, Mass., 1017 Achushnet Ave.
157—Italian Branch, New Bedford.
157—Wm. Yates, New Bedford, 1017 Achushnet Ave.
426—A. Debulgne, Philadelphia, 1842 No. Front street.
433—A. Martinelli, Stafford Springs, Conn., Box 698.
436—G. Coppens, Lowell, Mass., 37 Prince St.
513—Francis Smith, Woonsocket, R. I., Box 40.
530—T. J. Powers, Olneyville, R. I., Box 206.

DISTRICT COUNCILS.

New York, N. Y.—H. Traufg, 741 East Fifth street.
Chicago, Ill.—Wm. Rice, 935 Wells street.
McKees Rocks, Pa.—Frank Morris, 100 Charters Avenue.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Seattle, Wash.—C. P. Williams, 1524 Fifth Ave.
Portland, Ore.—J. Jackson, 306 First Ave.
99—C. A. Ulderico, Woonsocket, 686 Diamond Hill.
Spokane, Wash.—T. H. Dixon, Box 2129.
Los Angeles, Cal.—Wm. Sauter, 213 East Second street.

PROPAGANDA LEAGUES.

Buffalo, N. Y.—H. Tuthill, 69 Baynes street.
Chicago, Ill.—Paul Trice, 418 Oak Street.
Butte, Mont.—Paul Cooney, 261 East Porphyry street.

NEW HEADQUARTERS.

The Seattle Locals, No. 178 and 382, have moved to new headquarters, and are now located at 1524 Fifth Avenue, between Pike and Pine. All members from outside points will find us at this address and are requested to pay us a visit should they come to this city. The hall is larger and better than we have had hitherto. An active campaign will be carried on to recruit new members and spread the propaganda of Industrial Unionism.

penda wholly on the attitude of the employing classes when they are brought face to face with the fact that the workers of the country as a unit demand from them the restitution of the means of wealth production.

The value of industrial unionism as a means of forcing concessions from the employing classes while the work of preparation for the overthrow of the system is going on, has been amply proven in past. It is effective because every employee in an industry, and, if necessary, the employees in allied industries, irrespective of their different trades or occupations, are called out, entirely crippling the efforts of the employers to operate their plants.

More than that, it implants in the mind of the worker an utter disdain for the "job," awakens in him a spirit of independence and teaches him to think and reason for himself instead of allowing his ideas to be shaped by those whose interests are opposed to his.—None Industrial Worker.

orkers in general must be kept in ignorance or else they would not allow themselves to be exploited. The mouthpieces of the exploiters, the capitalist sheets, but add insult to injury by calling those who toll "ignor

STRIKE SITUATION AT BETHLEHEM

Schmidt started from here on last Wednesday evening. He was instructed to go there, size up the situation and if same warranted it, he should immediately notify me and I would proceed there at once.

Last Friday afternoon I received two telegrams from him urging that I start for the strike scene immediately.

I left here on Friday night and reached South Bethlehem Saturday morning. There had been a meeting arranged to be addressed by both Schmidt and myself to be held Sunday night in the Old City Hall where the proposition of urging the other different trades to go out would be advised.

All day Saturday we spent in either distribution of circulars of which we had ten thousand printed in three languages, namely, English, Polish and Slavish, and in investigating the situation. I had a conference with the leader of the strike, D. Williams, a member of the Socialist Party Local in Allentown. From what I could learn from him, it became immediately noticeable that they were not very anxious that the I. W. W. should bother with the American Machinists who were then the only strikers, but that we should use our influence with the Slavs and Poles.

Sunday was spent in a house to house canvass with circulars and leaflets. Sunday, as you will see by the enclosed clipping, we had a splendid meeting.

I found that all through the strikers were rather sympathetic with the I. W. W. and on all sides the men admitted that the A. F. of L. organizers had run the revolt into the ground. Many expressed the feeling that it was really too bad that we were not on the ground the first day of the big walk out.

I attended with Schmidt the strikers' mass meeting that was held on Saturday afternoon where Sammy's organizers spoke to the men about their craft unions, the worst kind of rot, no advice to do any picket duty but the same old rot that if the men took out craft union cards they would beat the bosses.

On Sunday night in my speech I made the position of the I. W. W. clear to the men and the same was accepted by a show of hand vote of the meeting, to wit, the I. W. W. had nothing in common whatever with the A. F. of L., but we were confronted with a strike and the same should be made a success. We were willing for the time being to bury the hatchet so to speak and go ahead with the proposition of getting the rest of the men to quit work and fight out the fight for the purpose of winning; that the I. W. W. would be willing to leave the matter of which organization the men should join till after the strike, providing that the organizers of the A. F. of L. would be willing to do the same.

The next morning, the three of us, Petroff of Potsville, Schmidt and I, were out in the rain at 6 o'clock doing picket duty with about fifty Hungarians and about twenty of the striking machinists.

Through the roasting that I had given the maulers on Sunday for having gone back to work and by the picket work in the morning, about 10 o'clock that morning about three hundred maulers of one of the shops and 25 crane men walked out. We had succeeded in getting a bunch of Slavs and Poles to go to work with the promise that at the opportune moment they should lead a stampede through the shop and try and get the five thousand or more of their countrymen to walk out.

What Americans came that morning to the picket line saw that we meant business and they were outspoken about the matter and argued that it was the only way to fight. It was arranged that at the strike meeting at 10 o'clock that morning both Schmidt and I would be asked by the men to speak, and that after we got done a motion would be made that all men and officers interested in the strike should go on picket duty in the morning, instead of sleeping till 10 o'clock.

At the meeting the stage was filled with all the organizers of the A. F. of L. that could be scraped. They all spoke and advised the men

to at once start to register so that they could be organized into their respective craft unions. When they had got done one of the striking machinists made a motion that I be invited to address the meeting. The motion was seconded from different parts of the house.

But the leaders offered objections and in order to try and kill the proposition they stuck up a Hungarian speaker to address the Maygar workers. Meanwhile some of the strikers jumped on the stage and demanded the reason as to why I could not speak. They offered all kinds of silly excuses. Finally Williams, the strike leader, told Petroff and others that he was willing that I should speak but that the chief of police from whom they get the City Hall gratis had warned them that if they allowed me to speak, that I would be immediately arrested and the hall taken away from them. The committee of the men from the floor reported his remarks to me and I replied that if they wanted that the chief of police should act as censor, on what should be said in the meetings, he could govern them and for all I cared they may just as well appoint him and the rest of the police force as the strike committee, but that for my part I would not talk any different than I would under any other circumstances.

When Petroff took my answer to them, they immediately tried to compromise the matter by allowing Schmidt to talk in Slavish and Polish. To that I yelled from the floor that if the I. W. W. representatives could not be heard in English because the language was too radical, that it was the same thing in any other language and we would not be used as prostitutes by any damn committee. The meeting began to break up notwithstanding all the frantic appeals of the leaders of the A. F. of L.

Bunches of men gathered around to discuss the matter and all agreed that the whole matter was raw, and that I should be allowed to speak. Seizing my opportunity I again called attention to them of the proposition that I had made at Sunday night's meeting. I told all present that I could see the whole proposition clear—the craft union leaders were anxious that we should stay on the ground and lead the Slavs and Hungarians, that we should spend our money and energies but that at the end a pact would be made with Schwab whereby the mechanics would be given some concessions and the vast mass of laborers—the Hungarians—would be left in the cold as usually is the case.

I told Williams that he could forget the idea as he had remarked, that we would eventually start a row with the A. F. of L. and thus disrupt the strike. That we would wash our hands with the whole proposition and leave the field clear for him and his A. F. of L.; that I fully understood the situation; that they figured in using the foreigners in pulling the chestnut out of the fire for the mechanics but that the I. W. W. would not be a party to the sacrifice.

Petroff, Schmidt and I went to the Hotel and considered the whole matter and we decided that taking everything in consideration the best thing that we could do to keep the confidence of the men would be to withdraw from the whole proposition.

We came to this conclusion from the following facts:

First—The strike had been broken by the organizers of the A. F. of L., who had run the settlement of a general strike of all the employees out of the ground, by the fact that they had from the start advised the men to be peaceful, to stay home instead of doing picket duty, that instead of the different crafts walking out altogether with the rest they had been advised to remain at work, organize into craft unions and then present their demands for increase in wages from the institution. This advice had been followed by some of the trades and as in the case of the electrical workers had resulted that the management had raised their wages and they remained at work.

The fakers had decreased the fighting number of the men by the fact that they had all along advised the men to leave the place in search of other jobs. This advice had been followed and the result was that out of a total number of five thousand strikers there was only about a thousand left in the town.

We reasoned that if we tried hard we would have very little trouble in getting the Slavs to walk out, but that if we did we would have to run the strike in two different ways. There would be one army in one hall and one in another. As long as the fight goes on the plan that it is at present, there will be no excitement and an appeal for funds would bring in very little, but if the Slavs walked out there would soon be some excitement and money would come in, and since the A. F. of L. has already sent out its appeals we would simply be pumping water to run their mill.

Taking all these things into consideration we decided that the best that we could do would be to wash our hands of the whole matter, that the A. F. of L. had run the strike into the ground and they may as well finish it themselves and have the blame for it, rather than they make the failure, but because we butted in, they would say that the strike was lost due to the interference of the I. W. W.

So Schmidt remained to address the meeting that was called for Monday night and explain to the Slavs and Poles the whole situation as it looked to us and advise them to use their own judgment in the matter of walking out.

JOS. J. ETOR.

WITHOUT A CARD.

I ought to get a large reward for never owning a union card. I've never grumbled, I never struck, I've never mixed with union truck.

But I must be going my way to win. So open, St. Peter, and let me in. St. Peter sat and stroked his staff. Despite his office, he had to laugh.

Said he, with a fiery gleam in his eye, "Who is tending this gate, you or I? I've heard of you and your gift of gab. You are what is known on earth as a scab."

Thereupon he arose in his stature tall and pressed the button upon the wall. And said to the imp that answered the bell: "Escort this fellow around to hell."

HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

1524 Fifth Avenue, Seattle, Wash. Reading room open from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m. Library contains a long list of books dealing with the labor problem.

Pamphlets on industrial Unionism for sale at the following prices:

Why Strikes Are Lost and How to Win.....5c
Industrial Combinations.....5c
Industrial Unionism.....5c
Eleven Blind Leaders.....5c
Social General Strike.....5c
I. W. W. Song Books.....5c
Industrial Worker, single copy.....5c
Solidarity.....5c
Propaganda meetings held every Sunday at 8 p. m.

CHAS. P. WILLIAMS,
Sec'y Propaganda Committee.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR NOTES

LETTER FROM BUENOS AYRES.

(Translated from the French paper "Voix Du Peuple," by Adolph Rebaer.

To the Working Men and Women of the United States:

Fellow Workers: In Argentina the working class is divided into three factions, the parliamentary Socialists, Anarchist communists and revolutionary Syndicalists (labor unionists). Out of a struggle among these factions lasting ten years, the revolutionary Syndicalists were victorious, few in number it is true, but composed of very active members, who without getting discouraged, have steadily worked for unity of the producers.

A unity congress was held on the 25th and 26th of September, in which 50 different unions took part. By a unanimous vote a consolidation was effected, and a new organization called "LA CONFEDERACION OBRERA REGIONAL ARGENTINE" was formed.

Such was the working man's position in Argentina before the late happenings, that took place in Buenos Ayres. This city had as its chief of police, a man by the name of Falcon, a veritable brute in human form, always animated by the most hostile sentiments toward the working class. The Colonel Falcon led all the slaughters of the 1st of May, 1909, and following days, the result of which was 8 dead and 100 wounded. The popular indignation after these murders was at its height. The workingmen's associations responded to this stroke of violence by declaring a general strike. For eight days everything was paralyzed; 300,000 workers all told in Buenos Ayres took part in it. The government in the person of Falcon was particularly vicious; 20 dead and 200 wounded remained on the spot.

The reign of brutality was at its height, so on the 14th of November the chief of police and his secretary fell the victims of a vengeance. The evening of the same day the secret police swamped the offices and destroyed the printing presses of the papers La Vanguardia and La Protesta. Next day martial law was declared. The police threw themselves on the halls of the workingmen's organizations, the meeting place of the conductors wagon situated in the street Montes De Oca No. 972, was riddled with bullets. The chairs, the tables and the books heaped together in the middle of the street were burned. The office of the hat makers and shoe makers were raided, without being burnt, as well as the hall in Mejico street, where 25 Syndicates used to meet. The reaction against the Syndicalist organizations became ferocious. The new amendment to the expulsion law permits a punishment of five years in prison for any one who after having been expelled should appear in the territory. There is talk of taking away the citizenship of all those who had been naturalized previous to this strike. The day after the declaration of martial law, La Macion, a conservative organ, stated that 150 Syndicalists would be expatriated (and 100 of those who had been naturalized) would be sent on board a warship to Fire Island, which has a population of 427 white and a few thousand Indians and has a murderous climate. The most militant comrades were arrested and since then we have not heard anything of them.

Such is the vengeance meted out working class by a Republican government of Argentina. The revolutionists, however, are not deterred from acting, in spite of the ferocious measures of repression, the militants announce their campaign. We hope that all revolutionists on the other side of the Ocean, as well as us on this side, will declare their solidarity with us and will help the confederation Obrera Regional Argentina to come out victorious from this dangerous struggle. In this hope we remain yours with brotherly and revolutionary greeting.

JUAN LORENCE.

Ex-Secretary of the Union General de Trabajadores Argentinas.
P. S.—We ask all the organizations to reproduce the above information in their papers.

THAT CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

That "co-operative commonwealth" bug seems to appear to some of our would-be revolutionists in the form of a horrible nightmare; they are sorely troubled by it, for to them it seems to keep saying how are you going to inaugurate this ideal of which you speak, and what form will it take on. They are being kept so busy trying to answer—to them—this great puzzling question that their mind is beginning to wander away from the leading problem, the organization of the working class into a class conscious body; but while they are pondering over that terrible "pipe-fender's hallucination," this organization of the workers has been going on very fast, and if those dreamers are not careful that co-operative commonwealth will be running full blast before they "come out of it." It has already begun to take on form; it is already being formed within the shell of the old. This new society, one used to hear so much about, has already begun to take over the so-called capitalist industries, and to manage them for their own benefit.

They have already told the great U. S. Steel Trust where it is to get off at. To be sure, their power is limited only because of their smallness of numbers.

If the workers, those on the outside of the movement, would only get busy, "stow their old guff," and quit waiting to see just what the other fellow was going to do, if they would get off the fence and come into the organization along with the rest, we could tell every great trust where to head in at; we could soon dictate to all others, as we have the Steel Trust.

So, now, Fellow Workers, get busy and organize. We must work together for a cause, to the end the full product of our labor. All the energy we can summon up must be expended along this line—organization. We must make it our slogan—organization, organization. That is what will do the work for us; so, again, get busy. Come in and bring the rest with you, all you can. The old system is swaying now like a rotten tree trunk, so all together, and, yo! heave! there she goes.

A concession here and a concession there, and to quote a famous advertisement for a hair tonic, she's going, going, gone.

GEORGE F. BARNES.

Watch the yellow label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. When the number on this label corresponds to the number on the paper, your subscription has expired. Renewal should be made at least three weeks before the date of expiration, so as to insure receiving every issue of the paper. Hustle for Subs.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TACTICS AND PRINCIPLES

(Continued from Page Four.)

1909, in France several times, the latest being the strike in protest against shooting striking coal miners in 1906; the two postal employees' strike in 1909; in Italy in 1904 as a protest against the shooting of striking workmen; in Sweden in 1905 for the use of the ballot by the workers; in Russia in 1905 for a representative government. Most of these have been successes in whole or in part, while the failures have out taught the workers the need of a more thorough organization.

The value of the political strike is that it compares the strength of the organized workers with that of the capitalist state; brings out the class nature of the existing governments; creates a disrespect for their authority and claims of obedience; creates a greater class consciousness; undermines and destroys, as far as we have economic power, said governments and substitutes the labor union as the administration of, by and for the workers.

General Strikes.

General strikes may occur only in single industries or all industries. They may be restricted to an industrial district or become national or international in scope. They have more or less paralyzed industry. Upon the suddenness and unexpectedness of their action, and their effectiveness in tying up industry depend their success. As a rule, elaborately prepared general strikes have not been very successful for the reason that the employers, being forewarned, could counteract such moves, but mainly because the workers were not well enough organized. Unforeseen or spontaneous general strikes have been almost uniformly successful for the reason they were surprises and easily overcame the unprepared and weak resistance possible.

General strikes, as observed in the chapter on Political Strikes, have been used against the government as well as being industrial strikes. The railroad strikes of Austria-Hungary and Italy, the general strikes and lockout in Denmark, the Knights of Labor strike in 1886, the American Railway Union strike of 1894 in the United States and the great Swedish lockout and strike of 1909 are some of the general strikes in industries that have, as a whole, advanced the working class interest. We have not seen a general strike reach across national lines, mainly because there is no real international organization of labor, and also because the labor organizations are as yet mainly under the control of political and nationalist ideas and forms. The real industrial organization of labor will be international in character. It also implies the use of the general strike, as the motto, "An injury to one is an injury to all," means that whenever a part of an industry or an industrial district is involved in a strike or lockout, it may be necessary for all the organized workers to walk out regardless of racial or national lines. For a more thorough understanding of the general strike the reader is referred to Arnold Roller's pamphlet, "The Social General Strike."

Every strike or labor trouble brings out more and more the underlying principle, who shall have and rule industry, the capitalist or the workers? The general strike is a means to compare the relative power to control the social labor power and the wealth produced, whether it shall be the capitalists or the working class. General strikes have stirred up the spirit and enthusiasm of the workers and shown their solidarity as nothing else has. It has shown them the power and possibilities of united action, and as such has aroused their courage and determination to be free from capitalist control. It has helped to free the workers from the stifling legalism of parliamentary action with its everlasting dilatoriness, make-believes and sheep-like spirit. Not only has the general strike shown the workers their strength, but also their weakness, and who are the traitors or incompetents. Thus the workers learn where and how to strengthen their union, and who and what officials to throw out or retire. We learn, also, that the members, and not the officials, are the ones to make a successful strike. The general strike, to the industrialists, is one of the means of arousing the social energies of the workers to act for themselves to get more of the wealth they produce. The industrialists aim by a series of general strikes to test and destroy the capitalists' power in each and all industries; to help out off the capitalists' incomes, to help overthrow their shop organization, and along with it their political government. Thus the industrialists aim to put an end to capitalist ownership and control of industry by a series of general strikes, each one gaining some advantage for the workers or revealing some weakness to be remedied, until the workers have the power and see the necessity of taking and conducting industry of, by and for themselves.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

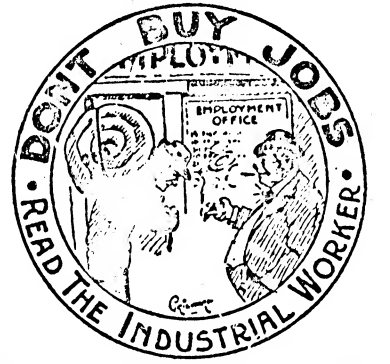
MODERN SLAVERY.

As a consequence of his desire for life and the means that make it certain and pleasant, man has ever turned his attention to the conquest of nature, reducing vegetable and animal life to his control. But his conquest does not end here. Ever has man enslaved his fellow; he has sought to make his own career upon earth pleasanter and more certain by compelling others to toil for him. In its more primitive stages slavery was enforced by the ownership of the things from which man must live. The rulers no longer have the right to buy and sell the man, to send him here and there to suit their will. They simply have the power to dictate the terms upon which he can stand upon the earth. With the mines, the forests, the oil, the harbors, the railroads and the really productive lands in the rulers' hands, the dominance and power of man over his fellows is absolute and complete.—Clarence S. Darrow.

Workers in general must be kept in ignorance or else they would not allow themselves to be exploited. The mouthpieces of the exploiters, the capitalist sheets, but add insult to injury by calling those who tell "ignorant foreigners."

In sending in for change of address, always state the old address as well as the new. When you have read this paper pass it on to a friend.

LABOR EXCHANGE NEWS ITEMS



CITY EMPLOYMENT OFFICE OF PORTLAND, ORE.

Every morning and all day long you can see many men standing around the City Free Employment office, in the vain hope that they will get a chance to go to work.

In case there are any men wanted to go to work the clerk makes out the tickets and lays them on the desk, but if you were to ask him if he had any jobs he would answer no. The only chance a man has here to get a job is to come through with a piece of change, and still they call this the free employment office.

Here is a bit of information of jobs in this locality:

Swift Packing House at Peninsula, near St. John, Ore. About 200 men are employed. Wages \$2.25 per day. Hospital fee \$1.50. Board \$5.25 per week; very poor. Work nine hours per day. Boss looks down your collar at all times. Men come and go. Person can get a job at most any time here.

United Engineering Company of Portland. Concrete work, \$2.25 per day of nine hours. Only short-handed shovels used for mixing concrete and shoveling dirt. Eastern slave drivers.

Lumber camps at Goble all running. There are three camps, Broughton & Wiggins, Columbia River Logging Company and Goble Milling Company. Wages \$2.25 to \$4.00, mill and woods. Grub is fair at the first two camps. At the Goble Milling Company's camp the grub is poor. Men can secure work here.

Sharks are sending all kinds of men to Shantiko and Deschutes; also to California. Reports from both places say that the labor market is overhyped with men.

WALTER NEF, Portland, Ore.

Seattle Advertisements

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"SOLIDARITY"

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TACTICS AND PRINCIPLES

By W. I. FISHER.

Modern as well as medieval and ancient ruling classes base their existence and power upon slave or unpaid labor. True the exact form of that slavery changes; yet one fact remains ever present, whether of ancient chattel slavery, where the slave was driven by the direct supervision of a taskmaster, feudalism, where the serf was bought and sold with the land, or capitalism, where the wage laborers must sell their labor power to the owners of the tools which they use, that is, whether slave masters, feudal lords, or capitalist employers all had and have the workers for the profit derived from their labor. Because of this has come an age long struggle between exploiter and exploited. Modern industry by doing away with or subjugating to its own ends all former classes, castes or sects, brings out clearer the class struggle. Modern industry by doing away with former methods of exploitation does not do away with the class struggle, it but alters the form.

With the coming of modern industry the class struggle takes on the form of a struggle between wage payers and wage receivers. Out of this conflict of employer and employed arises the modern labor movement. At first but weak and with no national or international connections the working class movement fights for existence with capitalist industry.

The workers have been strengthened in their struggle by the employers being compelled to grant universal education to the workers in order to increase the workers' productive capacity. The workers were also helped in their struggle by taking advantage of divisions among the ruling class to force concessions and gain the right to organize. Through the economic might of their unions they have, in the face of the bitterest opposition from the employing class, raised and are raising their unions from an outlawed to a legal status. The workers also have gained some advantages through legislative enactments, but mainly not through laws passed but through the agitation and education such efforts to pass laws brought forth.

With the coming of the trusts and employers associations comes a change, that is, the class interests of the wage workers are almost shut off from further advancement by legal and parliamentary means. So much so, that for the workers to continue such methods means that they are not only wasting efforts but actually obstructing their advancement as a class. The old methods of parliamentarism and political agitation, too much in the foreground, must and does give way to direct action through an industrial labor union. Parliaments and laws are nothing without industry, but the possessors of industry can make or unmake parliaments and laws. Industry belongs to them that can organize and direct the social labor forces in production to appropriate the product of labor. At the last analysis, this organization of the social labor forces in production is of, by and for the workers, because this labor power proceeds from them. Industrial control by the working class is in the process of making. As the scientists have fought the intellectual battle and shown in theory that the coming society will spring from the working class, so now it is for us workers to organize ourselves to win.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

The working class movement of today is the product of modern industry and the social organization necessarily following. With the acquisition of the tools of production by the capitalist class, and also those tools growing too large for any one man to use but only the united work of many men being able to use them, that it followed that the owner must secure labor to operate his machinery. Thus grew up the modern wage system wherein the employer of labor, who also owns the machinery the laborers use, pays wages to the laborers, keeps their product, sells it and keeps all the value above cost of production. But the cost of production ever varies, and the capitalist or corporation that can produce a commodity or commodities the cheapest makes the most profit, or can capture the market by putting wages on it for sale cheaper. But the cost of production that can get labor the cheapest can make more profit as well as extend the market. Also the more machinery is improved and the workers are speeded up the greater the product and profit per laborer. Also improved machinery and speeded up the workers throw out of work a mass of laborers to compete with one another for jobs. This unemployed army in order to exist does take smaller wages, work faster and longer hours, thus cheapening and making worse the living conditions of labor. But while the employers struggle to cheapen labor so as to make more profits, the self interest of the laborers is to make labor dearer so as to let more of the value they produce. But the individual laborer alone is powerless, because he at the best is a very small part in the work of production. Hence there is an idle army of labor the employers can always draw on, thus rendering the individual laborer's efforts fruitless.

What must the workers do? Join forces; as they all have a common interest in getting more of the value of their labor. As a result of such combination of labor comes strikes, lockouts, boycotts, etc. In fact an organized class conflict. On one hand the employer tries to cheapen labor and thus increase profits, while on the other the laborers strive to get more for their labor. Thus we see the self interest of one group in conflict with the self interest of another, a conflict that cannot be settled as long as the employing class remain to take profit from the employed. This struggle between employer and employed must go on, despite those who talk "harmony of interest" between employer and employed. Hunger and want on one hand and wealth and luxury on the other cannot agree. The present arrangement is only profitable to the employing class and disastrous to the employee.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system."

But the first form of resistance of the wage workers to their employers was scattered, and necessarily so, because the employers were small. There had not yet arisen the modern corporations and trusts. The employer being one who often hired only men of a single craft, and as a consequence arose craft unions. Again certain workers, who by possession of skill, held a commanding position in the shop could and did organize themselves in the shop into

trade unions. Of this number we find such as weavers, loomfixers, engineers, machinists, moulders, metal polishers, glass blowers, stone masons, etc. But the advance in the perfection of machinery has and continues to destroy skill. A machinist's work is constantly being subdivided and specialized, a machine now polishes metal, moulding is largely done by machinery, so also is glass blowing and working. Thus the skilled artisan more and more sinks to the level of the unskilled laborer. To further break down the power of the skilled artisan trade schools are established. These defeat the purpose of the trade unions in limiting apprentices by which the trade unions keep down competition in their crafts; these trade schools supplying a surplus of skilled laborers to compete and break down the power of the craft unions.

Moreover no trade union or trade unionism as a whole is not left to itself, as the employers ever strive to control the ideas and forms and purposes of organization in their own interest. The trade union officials, press, form and purpose of organization are largely under the control of the employing class. Such organizations as the Civic Federation with an ultra capitalist at its head, and the president of the American Federation of Labor as vice-president, with other labor leaders as officials in that organization, all of which shows us that the alliance of employers and labor leaders is to misdirect labor while the foundation of trade unionism is being destroyed, while at the same time using the craft unions to prevent any move toward industrial unionism. But no organization of labor can be permanently directed by the employers as such organizations being in the interests of the employers does not, nor cannot get better conditions for the workers, consequently the workers are compelled either to revolutionize it or abandon it.

As the artisan sinks nearer the level of the unskilled laborer and becomes only a cog in the general industries they are compelled to see that the workers are compelled to stand together as a class in mill, mine, railroad, on water, farm or whatever industry they work in. The construction of a labor union that shall be able to combat the existing capitalist order must conform to the forms of industry. As all trades or industries are interdependent, the skilled laborer dependent upon the unskilled as a machinist must have the work of the other laborers, so mutually the skilled and unskilled depend upon one another. Moreover because of the doing away with skill we cannot carry on an active aggressive fight nor even a passive or defensive one by pitting one division of labor against another in the same industry in wage conflicts. Every industry must be organized that all the employees in each industry shall form a department of a general union of all labor. The basis of the unions being the industry; all the employees in each plant belonging to the local union. In conflicts with the employers all the laborers cease work regardless of craft or trade and tie up that plant or industry or all industries if necessary. This makes a complete army of labor, so constituted as to act as a unit in all matters to the good of the organization. So whenever a strike, say in a steel mill should occur every mill belonging to that corporation, if necessary, would be closed down, yes all the steel industry if necessary, would be shut down. The railroads and marine transportation workers would likewise refuse to transport raw materials or finished products, strike breakers, soldiers or supplies. Neither would any other laborers help in any way the employers, feed strike breakers or soldiers, or in any way give aid or encouragement to the employers. Such an organization of labor becomes in its very nature stronger than any organization the employers can form. In fact it is an industrial government or administration of, by and for the workers.

Whatever industrial development has made necessary industrial organization in any line of industry among the workers that form of organization cannot stop at any line of industry, because of the strong connection all industries have with one another. Moreover experience shows that where wages are lowered or hours lengthened or increased speed demanded in any industry or by any employer, or else a discrimination is made against union employees, if not stopped by the union will be further followed up by employers in other lines of industry until the abuse becomes general. In order to prevent such abuse and encroachments on the workers' rights it is necessary to protect the members of all industries. In practice an injury to one becomes an injury to all.

GENERAL METHODS.
General methods of action or organization often make or unmake a union. If such methods are outworn or cumbersome it means waste of energy. To give notice to an employer weeks or months before a strike; to sign contracts that bind a union to remain at work regardless of the other workers; to undertake long and expensive strikes; to rely upon the employers to give a decision in favor of the workers, and the absence of any connected policy to follow on in building up the working class union marks the weakness of the action and policy of the existing unions. Too much confusion and many wrong results from craft divisions, where it is next to impossible to carry out a common policy. If a general eight-hour day is wanted it depends upon the individual craft unions to enforce it each for themselves. Worse still, unions in same or kindred industries continue to work when one is on strike or locked out instead of all quitting and refusing to handle or furnish material for an unfair product. When there were no trusts or owners of employers, the craft unions could and did gain concessions. But with the coming of the trusts and employers' associations, the craft unions are being put on the defensive or broken up. We see the evil of this separatist and contract policy among the coal miners, transportation workers, building trade laborers, iron and steel workers, textile workers—in fact, in every line of industry. The coal miners with their separate district contracts, seals it on the striking or locked out miners of other districts, and have thus rendered their union weak and non-progressive. The Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers have seen their strength in the trust mills reduced from sixty thousand to nothing in eight years. The same process is breaking up the Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union and Seamen's Union of the Great Lakes. In fact, the workers in all industries have seen their unions dominated by such blundering tactics and divides to be conquered. Such struggles wherein a single or part of an industry stands alone in the struggle has and is proving the undoing of the American labor movement, do it not the willingness of other unions not on strike to assist themselves to help those striking or locked out. What counts for far more is the refusing to work with scabs, bring in raw material or take out finished product from that shop or industry, or feed or transport scabs or troops for the employers.

One thing lacking in the American labor movement is represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Craft Unions is a definite purpose. It is merely drifting without a goal or direction. As a consequence, it can be and is ridden by designing men who

make personal capital out of it. Also it leaves the labor movement to be controlled largely by the employers to be turned into channels that are harmless to the employing class and destructive to the workers' interests. This is largely because of a lack of knowledge of the relations of employer and employee, not understanding that the employer and the wage laborer have nothing in common. A true working class union is built upon the knowledge of the relations of employers and wage laborers, and to uphold the interest of wage laborers against their employers, and to organize the working class that they can work out the mastery and control and final possession of the land and machinery of production.

General Means and Methods.
In outlining general means and methods of action to follow in labor's conflict with the employers, no hard and fast rules can be laid down. However, we suggest as a few the following general methods.

First—Avoid labor contracts.
Second—Don't give long notices to the employer what you intend to do.
Third—Avoid premature moves and moves at the wrong time.
Fourth—Avoid as far as possible the use of violence.
Fifth—Use force of public education and agitation; the union an agitational and educational force for the workers.
Sixth—Boycott.
Seventh—Passive strikes and sabotage; irritation strikes.
Eighth—Political strikes.
Ninth—General strikes.
Tenth—Where possible seizure of warehouses and stores to supply strikers or locked-out men.

Labor Contracts.
The practice of the craft unions to sign contracts to remain at work for a given length of time regardless of other laborers in same industry or other industries has been a practice that the craft unions have followed out almost universally, and none has resulted so disastrously to organized labor as a whole. In law a contract to be binding must be between equal contracting parties. Now who will contend that labor is equal with the owners of the tools they use when the owners of a bargain as to wages, hours and conditions of labor. The employers' ownership of the land and machinery of production gives him a decided advantage. The laborers cannot as a last resort refuse the bargain as two equal contracting parties could; starvation inevitably stares them in the face. It is a hold-up game in which labor is the held-up party. If a highwayman held you up and took your purse you would not consider anything you signed all right. No; you would by all means try to recover the stolen purse. Now, labor is held up and made to give up all over the mere cost of subsistence and the raising of a new generation of slaves for the employers. Organized labor, if it is to get even more of what it produces, must at all times take advantage of the employers. As a few of the instances of the destructive tactics of labor contracts, we cite the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, who had in 1901 60,000. A single plant at a time would be locked out while the rest of the union men stuck by their contracts and produced steel. As a consequence their union is completely broken up in all United States Steel Corporation plants. The United Mine Workers of America, by the district contract and striking at the wrong time in the spring instead of the fall, have been reduced from 324,000 in 1906 to 165,000 by 1910. The same contract policy has all but destroyed the well-known longshoremen, the Lake Seamen, the United Hatters and the Carmen's Unions of the United States. More such instances we could cite, but such, we believe, are sufficient to illustrate the evil and danger of time contracts.

Time Contracts.
A serious mistake of the unions has been that of giving a long notice of their demands ahead. The employer is thus given time to prepare and has time to get strike breakers as well as get out a big surplus so as to fill all orders during a strike period. As a consequence, a prolonged strike follows with the chances of victory on the side of the employer. As illustrations, we cite the telegraphers of the Hill roads in 1905, the United Mine Workers in 1906, the San Francisco street car men in 1907, the Commercial Telegraphers in 1907, the Machinists of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1909, and the Lake Seamen in same year. All these strikes were failures. As a contrast, we see the Italian general strike of 1904, the Russian and Swedish general strikes of 1905, the electricians of Paris, France, in 1907, the postal employees of France in March, 1909, and a strike of women and girl necktie makers in New York City in 1909, all of which were successful, mainly because the employers had no time to prepare. "We refuse to strike when the boss wanted us to, when his orders were slack, but waited until a rush of orders came in and he was unprepared; then struck upon a day's notice," said the girl president of the necktie makers in New York City. That was industrial union tactics. The necktie makers won completely. Give no notice, but wait until you catch the employer unprepared with large orders to fill, then make your demands, and if not immediately complied with walk out as a unit. By following such tactics the workers stand the greatest chances of success and the least chances of failure.

Premature Moves and Moves at the Wrong Time.

Strikes often fail because they are premature, called when the organization is too weak and not prepared. Often the membership is without any union discipline and knowledge of what to do as well as being partially organized. Failure is almost always the result. Moves at the wrong time is responsible for many failures. The membership, if they are to remedy this, must learn when the employer is a rush or not. If orders are slack and the employer wants them to strike, don't do so, but hold your temper and wait until he does not, when he has big orders to fill, then make your demands. The coal miners by a policy of calling strikes in the spring or summer have met with a series of failures despite a well-filled treasury. If demands are made, make them in the fall, then if the coal barons refuse to grant them strike can be called in all fields at the same time. The people then, in order to keep from freezing, would compel the mine owners to settle, and that in favor of the miners. Motto: Catch the bosses unprepared.

Avoidance of Violence.
To be sure, more or less violence will always accompany strikes or lockouts, but it is well to not let the employers catch us in any armed resistance. Use public agitation and education and the power of the industrial and class strike. The employing class are only too anxious to use the brute force of military power; it is their long suit, and we workers are to side-street and refuse to run up against their instruments of destruction. Our power lays in industrial control, the power to start and stop industry; the employers' power is bluff and brute force. Unless troops can be fed and transported, military power fails. When we workers quit making arms and ammunition, clothing, feeding or transporting troops for the masters their bluff and brute violence fails. Besides the carrying out of a policy of refusing

to fight the enemy with his own weapons of murder will gain us the support of the yet unawakened workers, as well as make impossible the bloody reactions that follow armed revolts by the workers.

The Union an Agitational and Educational Force.

Experience shows us that a membership without knowledge of their class are easily misled and their unions ridden by designing men. When the wage workers understand that the class struggle going on between them and their employers is not the result of any wickedness on the part of anyone or class, but springs from the nature of capitalist production; that such a struggle must go on until the working class organize as a class and take control of industry for themselves. When the workers so understand reverses will only be temporary and will but teach us our weakness and result in a stronger and better disciplined organization. From now on the union hall is to be not only a gathering place to plan and conduct collective resistance, but also a school and social center. We workers need greater knowledge of economics, history, science, hygiene and other useful branches of knowledge. The writer suggests that where possible regular studies be taken up, classes formed and a regular study course carried on. We need more agitators and educators with a more thorough knowledge of economic working class tactics, history and science. Such classes could be formed in the winter when the weather keeps the workers in as well as throws out of work a mass of labor. Such workers, when the busy season opens, can mingle with the other workers in the various industries as voluntary organizers to turn teach and organize the unorganized. To make the union an educational and agitational one, is to create a force that can in any emergency influence public opinion for the union. Public opinion, coupled with the power to stop industry, is a strong combination. But not only is the education of the workers desirable from the viewpoint of spreading the agitation, but to give the movement permanence and solidarity as well as guard it against capitalist deceptions, intrigue and control. We must remember the movement is assailed by a powerful combination of ignorance and hostile capitalist interest. If one union has been destroyed and another made a bulwark of capitalism through the ignorance of their members, we industrialists are to guard against that by a thorough knowledge of economics, the class struggle and class relations. Each local headquarters should have a library, where a public library is used should be made of that by the membership to inform themselves. Articles of interest in current magazines and papers, dealing with such subjects as improved machinery and methods of production, discoveries and application of science, general scientific knowledge, discussions on economics and public questions should be put in the membership's hands. The member who finds anything of note to put it before the whole membership that they may all get the benefit of such information. The art of public speaking also to be cultivated, but not in a cut-and-dried, lack-of-interest way, but with the zeal, energy, enthusiasm, moral consciousness and knowledge of the working class cause. The main object of such training as stated above is to train agitators and educators, school teachers, if you please, for to educate and organize the workers. A working class movement based upon knowledge of the workers' interest, is invincible. It was this knowledge that enabled the Swedish workers to gain their victory against the capitalists' lockout. The Volkhaus was not only a union hall, but an educational and social center, where economics and other sciences were taught. Let us learn a lesson from them.

The Boycott.
An industrial strike involves a boycott of the most far-reaching kind. When thoroughly carried out an employer could not get raw material, strikebreakers, militia, take away the finished product, feed or haul provisions for strikebreakers, build barricades around factories, even owners as well as police, militia or anyone who helped the employers or corporation could not get any service or food. Mark the difference between a craft union boycott, for instance the famous Buck Stove and Range case, where the polishers, thirty-five in number, were on strike against a closed shop, while about 400 other union men were at work. When the company did not concede to the polishers a boycott was declared. No member of organized labor was to buy a Buck stove or range. Well, an industrial strike when carried out thoroughly would mean that not only would organized labor not buy any boycotted articles, but nobody else could.

Passive Strikes and Sabotage; Irritation

Strikes.
Passive strikes or the easing up of work when on the job is a favorite method of the French syndicalists. While the workers draw their pay they cut down the income of the employer and demoralizing his business. Such strikes have been conducted on a large scale in Austria and Italy on the railroads. All that was necessary was the strict following out of rules in the most intricate and strictest details. In a few days traffic was entirely blocked. Needless to say that a speedy settlement in favor of the strikers followed.

"In the famous free speech fight in Spokane, Wash., the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, sentenced to the chain gang under a barbarous gag ordinance, carried on a most successful passive strike. Despite the brutality of the police on guard, the men did not in a week as much as they could have accomplished in an hour; two men, who were chained together, broke in four days, and that by accident, only a seventy-five pound rock. Such methods of passive strikes has its advantages, especially where a long-drawn out fight is likely to result from a walkout. The passive strike is especially effective when coupled with the methods known as sabotage; that is, turning out an inferior product, disabling machinery, thus causing a loss of time, wasting of product or doing whatever hinders production or cuts down profits. By attacking the employer's income and at the same time drawing wages is a very effective fighting method, as it keeps us from starving, weakens the financial standing of the employer and thus makes him less able to lock us out for any prolonged period.

Irritation strike also is a method that organized labor can and has used in its battles. By quitting at an unexpected time and demanding more pay or some other shop regulation, then when the employer is about to bring in strikebreakers go back, wait until strikebreakers are gone, then quit again unexpectedly. At Granite City, Illinois, in 1906, occurred an irritation strike among the unskilled laborers in the steel mills. These laborers were mostly Hungarians and Rumanians. For three successive mornings these workers stood without hate and shouted, "No work if not \$2.00 pay." The mechanics could not start without these workers, the mills stood idle. No committees, no arbitration offers, only "either \$2.00 pay or no work." After two hours of idleness the men resumed work. At the end of three days the company sent to the employment offices for strikebreakers. The workers forestalled this move of the company by going to work next morning. A week passed and the men began the same tactics again. After a

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POOL PARLOR, CIGARS, TOBACCO
Grocery Store in Connection
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Ideal Rooming House

221 1/2 Howard St.
Neatly furnished rooms, 15c to \$1.00.
NELS SWANSON, Prop.

O. K. LOAN OFFICE

220 N. Stevens Street
Tailor Made Suits, value \$15.00, at \$4.00 and up.
Overcoats, value \$8.00, at 75c and up.
Give us a trial. Strictly Second Hand. We've got the goods.

Stevens Street Restaurant

502 Stevens Street
BEST 15c MEAL IN THE CITY
OUR COFFEE CAN'T BE BEAT

Miller's Cafe

The only 25-cent Meal House in Missoula, Mont.
I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS
132 WEST FRONT STREET.

Mechanics Cafe and Bakery

308 WASHINGTON STREET
GROSS & CAROTHERS
PROPRIETORS.
MEALS 15 CENTS AND UP
Short Orders at all hours. Boxes reserved for ladies. Open all night
MEAL TICKETS, \$3.25 FOR \$3.00

Queen Coffee House

We Feed More Workingmen Than Any Place in Town
OUR "COFFEE AND" IS KNOWN
337 FRONT AVENUE.

few days of such tactics mean the bosses realized there was a strongly organized body to deal with and they granted the demands. Those workers organized in the Industrial Workers of the World shows what can be done with a well-organized and disciplined body. Such tactics disarrange the bosses' shop organization and create confusion in filling orders, while the strikers are not starved by any prolonged strike.

But such tactics may bring about a lockout and the introduction of a card system, compelling the workers to sign a contract not to belong to a union. If so, sign any or all contracts, but at the first opportunity take such collective means as shall be necessary to resist the employer's exactions. In the gun works in Essen, in Germany, the employees were required to sign an agreement not to belong to any revolutionary union or encourage propaganda for such union. All workers were advised by their committees to sign anything the employers wanted, but do anyway what ever was best for the protection of their interest as workers. The result was that at the first opportunity the Japanese-Russian war, when the big order came in, the owners were confronted by a powerful labor union. We see such bodies are indestructible.

Political Strikes.
Political strikes are actions against the capitalist state, an action have been also general strikes. The political strike may be used against the orders of courts, hostile legislation, against labor or the use of troops or police to break strikes. The political strike may be also a strike of the government employees fighting to gain concessions from the government itself. The result of such moves when successful is to weaken or render useless court orders and laws against labor, prevent the use of troops or police against the workmen, and in general to undermine and destroy the capitalist state by substituting in its place organized labor. The organized workers have been repeatedly compelled to use the political strike to protect themselves or to gain some concessions. The political strike was used in Holland and Belgium, in Spain in 1901 and (Continued on Page Three.)